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South Africa in Transition: The Influence of the Political Personalities of Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk

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Abstract

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The purpose of this paper is to examine salient factors accounting for South Africa's relatively peaceful transition from apartheid state to nonracial democracy, focusing on the political personalities of contemporary South African leaders Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk.

Following a brief overview of situational variables, the paper describes the political personalities of Mandela and De Klerk as assessed by the Millon-Type Political Personality Checklist (MPPC).

The study shows that one cannot fully account for recent political developments in South Africa without considering (a) the interaction between situational variables and the political personalities of Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk and (b) synergistic features in the personalities of these two leaders.

Introduction

The inauguration of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first democratically elected president on May 10, 1994, marked the formal end of statutory apartheid in that country. After more than three centuries of white domination, there has finally been a relatively peaceful, orderly transfer of power to the black majority. As stated by outgoing president F. W. de Klerk in his concession speech ending nearly 46 years of National Party (NP) rule: "After so many centuries, we will finally have a government which represents all South Africans; after so many centuries, all South Africans are now free. . . . I hold out my hand to Mr. Mandela in friendship and in cooperation." In his victory speech, president-elect Nelson Mandela hailed the election result as "one of the most important moments in the life of our country" and thanked De Klerk for "the four years that we have worked together, quarreled, addressed sensitive problems, and at the end of our heated exchanges, were able to shake hands," concluding that the time had come "to heal old wounds and to build a new South Africa."

For a country relegated to pariah status in the world community for more than three decades, events of the past four years have been nothing short of remarkable: the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, the ensuing dismantling of apartheid, successful multiparty negotiations for the transition to majority rule, the "substantially free and fair" nonracial elections in April 1994, and finally the

transfer of power to Mandela's government of national unity in May 1994. This rapid transition from apartheid state to nonracial democracy raises a significant question: Why did the deeply entrenched apartheid system collapse so suddenly? The purpose of this paper is to offer some insights in relation to this pressing question, focusing on the political personalities of Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk.

Factors Accounting for Political Change in South Africa: The Stage

Though the present analysis focuses on the role of personality variables of high-level political leaders in bringing about political change, personality manifests itself in a psychosocial context, and should not be seen in isolation from relevant situational variables.

What caused apartheid to crumble? As was the case with the tumbling of the Berlin Wall, there are a multitude of reasons. The major situational factors appear to be the following: the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the successful transition to majority rule in Namibia, international sanctions against South Africa (including economic and cultural isolation), the liberation struggle, white opposition to apartheid, the failure of apartheid, moderation of the leadership in the ruling National Party, and the breakdown of National Party hegemony.

Collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

There are interesting parallels and differences between the political transitions of the former Soviet Union and

South Africa (see, for example, Glad, 1994). Of even greater interest to the present study, there appears to be a causal relationship between political changes in South Africa and prior events in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The collapse of communist governments in this region — for many years major sponsors of the African National Congress (ANC) — provided a strong incentive for the ANC to forgo the armed struggle in favor of seeking a negotiated settlement with the National Party government. As stated by Willem de Klerk (1991, p. 28), it eroded the financial and moral support base of the ANC. From the perspective of the South African government, developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union not only reduced the perceived threat of communism but also presented them with a contemporary model of the power of internal resistance to unpopular regimes — a scenario they did not savor for South Africa (see De Klerk, 1991, pp. 107-110).

The Successful Transition to Majority Rule in Namibia

Namibia provided a model of a different kind. Annexed in 1946 but governed by South Africa as a *de facto* fifth province since 1920 when granted a League of Nations mandate to administer the territory, Namibia finally became independent on March 21, 1990. Its transition to majority rule under the leadership of Sam Nujoma's South-West African People's Organization (perceived by the NP as the Namibian equivalent of the ANC), played a considerable role in

allaying the fears of the South African government with regard to power sharing (see De Klerk, 1991, pp. 107, 176).

International Sanctions Against South Africa

Coinciding with changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, punitive economic sanctions imposed by the international community were slowly sapping the South African economy, exerting pressure on the government to negotiate with, rather than fight, the ANC. The NP could no longer tolerate the drain on the country's economic and human resources imposed by the escalating war of attrition.

The Liberation Struggle

Against the background of increasing economic and cultural isolation, the liberation struggle in South Africa drastically intensified during the mid-1980s. Internal resistance to apartheid took many forms, including consumer boycotts of white-owned businesses, rent boycotts in the townships, nationwide strikes and stayaways, and other forms of mass action aimed at making the country ungovernable. In the end, the National Party could no longer effectively govern the country in defiance of the will of the black majority. Internal resistance to apartheid arguably had a much greater impact than the armed struggle in toppling the apartheid system, though internal and external manifestations of the struggle should not be treated as unrelated phenomena.

Sustained Pressure by the Liberal White Opposition

Though constituting a tiny minority in Parliament, the liberal opposition played an influential role in South

African politics (see Immelman, 1988a); in fact, from 1977 to 1987 the Progressive Federal Party constituted the official cpposition in Parliament. In 1989 it merged with the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, founded by politically moderate NP defectors, to form the Democratic Party. With this broadened base, the party's support among the white electorate during the last year of the Botha regime was estimated at close to 25 percent (see De Klerk, 1991, pp. 110-115, for an analysis of the role of liberal opposition voices in creating a climate for change).

The Failure of Apartheid

A frequently ignored factor in the demise of apartheid is that its very fabric primed it for self-destruction in a modern world. Just as the feudal system in Europe succumbed to the modern nation-state, apartheid, as conceptualized by its architects in the 1950s and 1960s, became a political dinosaur. The apartheid system simply could not be sustained in a modern, industrialized economy.

De Klerk (1991, pp. 67-67) has cited "seven sins" of apartheid that consumed it from within: its ill-conceived dream of "ideological orderliness" could be sustained only through structural violence (which ultimately created chaos); the fallacy that a tiny white majority could maintain its influence by isolating itself from society at large; the "astronomical cost" of apartheid, which made its continuation contingent on foreign capital investment and loans; its

immorality; its transparently racist foundations; its underestimation of the power of black nationalism; and its unmanageable complexity.

The Moderation of the National Party Leadership

By the 1970s the writing was already on the wall for apartheid, as the National Party haltingly started liberalizing its policies. The reform process gained momentum with P. W. Botha's assumption of power in 1978, though it was significantly reversed with his declaration of a state of emergency in July 1985, extended to an unprecedented nationwide state of emergency in June 1986. Nonetheless, the National Party of P. W. Botha was no longer the same National Party that ruled in the heyday of apartheid in the 1950s and 1960s; the breakaway of rightwingers in 1969 to form the *Herstigte Nasionale Party* was followed in 1982 by a much more significant split when Andries Treurnicht led a breakaway of *verkramptes* to form the Conservative Party. One implication of this realignment is that the ideological center in the National Party shifted to the left, creating new opportunities for the emergence of moderate leadership. For a detailed account, see De Klerk (1991, pp. 115-134).

The Breakdown of National Party Hegemony

Relentless international sanctions and isolation, the breakdown of apartheid policies, internal opposition, and the weakening of the old National Party with defections to the right and left all contributed to a breakdown of four decades of National Party hegemony. The climate was ripe

for new initiatives. By the late 1980s the stage was set; what remained was for someone with the right personal qualities for an "event-making" role, to step into the act. F. W. de Klerk was to be this man, with Nelson Mandela waiting in the wings.

Factors Accounting for Political Change in South Africa: The Players

Despite all of the contextual factors enumerated in the preceding section, a decade ago political analysts were confidently predicting that the Nationalist government in South Africa had the resources to remain in control for the foreseeable future, albeit under a "state of siege" (see Scenarios, 1985). How then does one account for its virtual capitulation in the early 1990s? In my judgment there is some justification for attributing South Africa's sudden change of direction to the transfer of political leadership in 1989 from P. W. Botha to F. W. de Klerk. The change in leadership hastened Nelson Mandela's release from prison and this in turn triggered a fresh political context. Apart from the general effects of this new dynamic on the South African situation, I believe it is incumbent upon academics to investigate the role of Mandela's personal characteristics on the political environment, including the interaction of Mandela's personality with that of De Klerk. This raises the question of how best to examine political personality.

For a number of years I have advocated (Immelman, 1988b, 1989, 1993a) the employment of Theodore Millon's (1969, 1981,

1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994; Millon & Everly, 1985) model of personality in suitably adapted form for the study of political personality. A comprehensive review of Millon's personological model and its applicability to political personality can be found in Immelman (1993a). Millon's approach is particularly useful in that it provides a system of normal and maladaptive personality patterns compatible with the syndromes described on Axis II of the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV) of the American Psychiatric Association (1994).

In a study (Immelman, 1993b) presented at last year's annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology in which I attempted to demonstrate the utility of Millon's personological model as a conceptual framework and methodology for the assessment of political personality, I presented an analysis of the political personality of former South African prime minister and president, P. W. Botha, and a preliminary assessment of the personalities of then President F. W. de Klerk, and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela. All three analyses were conducted by means of a research instrument compiled from the published work of Millon and his associates (Millon, 1969, 1986b; Millon & Everly, 1985), provisionally referred to as the *Millon-Type Political Personality Checklist* (MPPC; Immelman, 1993c). The results of those three assessments are briefly summarized below, following which I present the results of a follow-up study of Mandela and De Klerk.

P. W. Botha

Botha's MPPC personality profile, constructed by means of a reanalysis of the results of an earlier study (Immelman, 1988b),

> suggests an Aggressive (elevated Scale 1) personality with distinct Suspicious (though not quite Paranoid) features (elevated Scale 9) and secondary Confident (Scale 2), Sensitive (i.e., reactive; Scale 5), and Respectful (Scale 6) features. Loadings on Scales 3 and 4 (suggestive of sensitivity to others) are notably absent, suggesting a very self-oriented individual. (Immelman, 1993b, pp. 9, 11)

For Botha's complete MPPC profile, see Appendix A-1.

F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela: Study 1

The personality profiles of De Klerk and Mandela were constructed from the mean MPPC ratings of two South African political scientists with expertise in the study of political leadership and personality. "Remarkably similar" personality profiles were obtained for Mandela and De Klerk:

> Both leaders are appraised as functioning within the normal range; there are no clinically relevant profile elevations. The most elevated scale for both leaders is Scale 6, in a range that would characterize both as Respectful personalities. . . . Slight elevations on Scales 1, 2, and 3 for both leaders suggest the secondary presence of traits associated with Forceful, Confident, and Sociable personalities. (Immelman, 1993b, p. 13)

It was noted that "De Klerk lacks the aggressiveness and suspiciousness of Botha and is moderately other-oriented, in contrast to Botha's strong self-orientation" (Immelman, 1993b, p. 16). The MPPC profiles of De Klerk and Mandela respectively are provided in Appendix A-2 and Appendix A-3.

F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela: Study 2

In Study 2, personality profiles of De Klerk and Mandela were constructed on the basis of MPPC ratings by myself, primarily on the basis of Fatima Meer's (1988) biography of Nelson Mandela and Willem de Klerk's (1991) biography of F. W. de Klerk. Updated information was obtained from recent reports in the news media (e.g., Impressions, 1993) and public knowledge about Mandela and De Klerk. For the complete psychobiographical analysis, psychodiagnostic formulations, and MPPC item endorsements, the reader is referred to Immelman (1994), relevant parts of which are reproduced in Appendix B.

MPPC scale scores for Mandela and De Klerk are depicted in Table 1. Scores from Study 1 are provided for comparative purposes.

Table 1

MPPC Scale Scores for Mandela and De Klerk

Scale	Label	Mandela		De Klerk	
		1993[2]	1994[3]	1993[2]	1994[3]
1	Controlling/Active-independent	5	6	4	3
2	Asserting/Passive-independent	5	6	5.5	5
3	Outgoing/Active-dependent	5.5	2	4	2
4	Agreeing/Passive-dependent	2.3	3	2.3	5
5	Complaining/Active-ambivalent	5.3	3	2.3	1
6	Conforming/Passive-ambivalent	9.5	7	7.5	7
7	Hesitating/Active-detached	0.5	0	0.5	0
8	Retiring/Passive-detached	2.3	0	0	2
9	Distrusting	3.5	0	0	0
10	Erratic	4.5	4	0	0

[1] Labels for Scales 1-8 are from Millon (1969, 1994)
[2] Data from Study 1 (Immelman, 1993b)
[3] Data from Study 2 (Immelman, 1994)

As shown in Table 1, Study 1 and Study 2 yielded similar results; differences — for the most part clinically insignificant — may be summarized as follows:

1. *Scales 1 and 2.* Study 2 found Mandela to be slightly more controlling and asserting, and De Klerk to be marginally less controlling and asserting than did Study 1.

2. *Scales 3 and 4.* Study 2 found both Mandela and De Klerk to be less outgoing than did Study 1, and De Klerk to be more agreeing than did Study 1.

3. *Scales 5 and 6.* Study 2 found both Mandela and De Klerk to be less complaining than did Study 1, and Mandela to be less conforming.

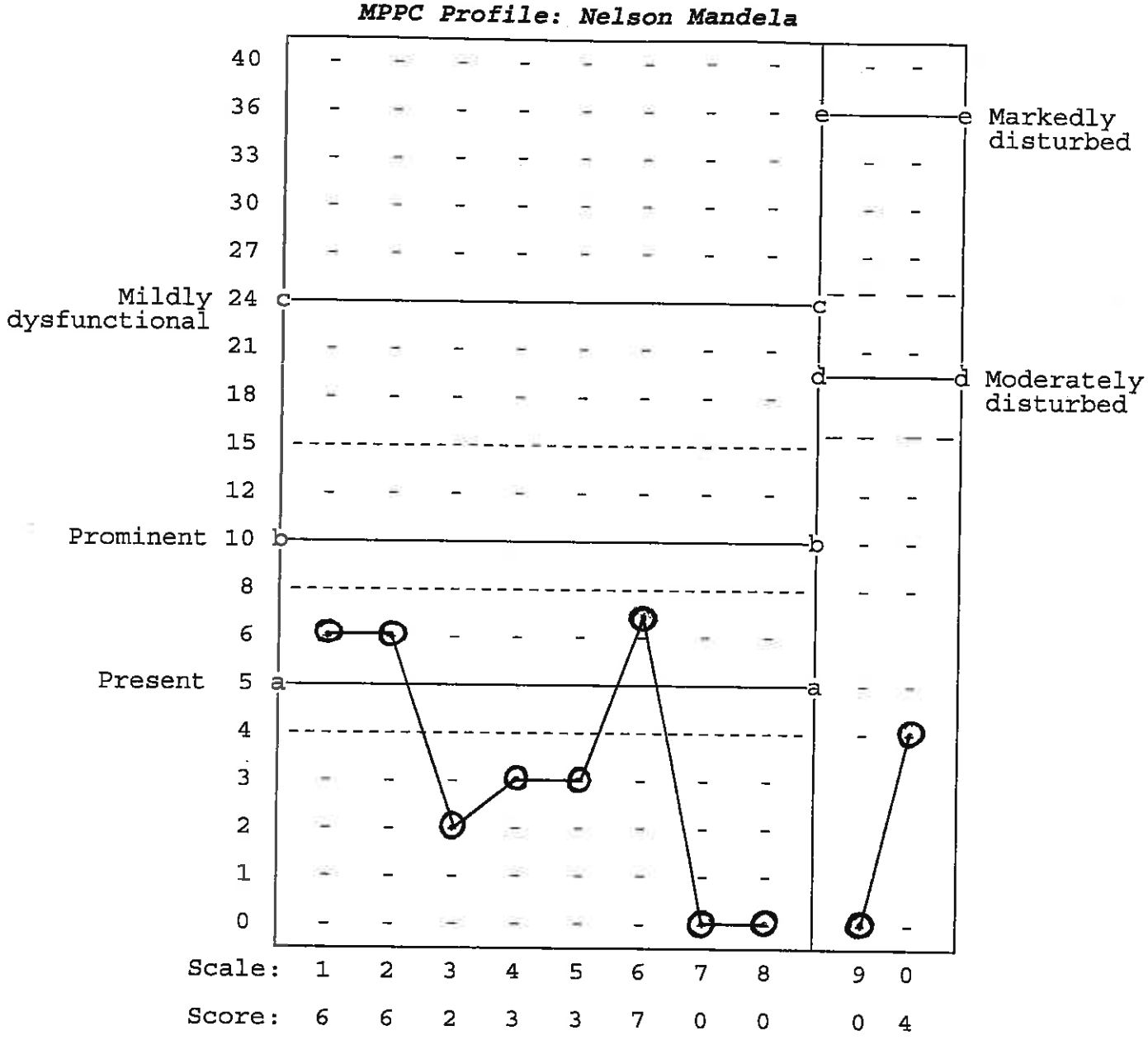
4. *Scale 8.* Study 2 found Mandela to be less retiring and De Klerk to be more retiring than did Study 1.

5. *Scale 9.* Study 2 found Mandela to be less distrusting than did Study 1.

The MPPC profiles for Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk respectively are presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2. The remainder of this paper is reproduced from Immelman (1994).

In terms of the interpretation strategy outlined in the MPPC Preliminary Manual (Immelman, 1993d), both leaders are categorized as functioning within the normal range; there are no clinically relevant profile elevations. The personality profiles (see Appendix C for scale construction) of Mandela and De Klerk, depicted in Figures 1 and 2, are quite similar. The most elevated scale for both leaders is Scale 6 (Conforming). Mandela has secondary elevations on Scale 1

Figure 1

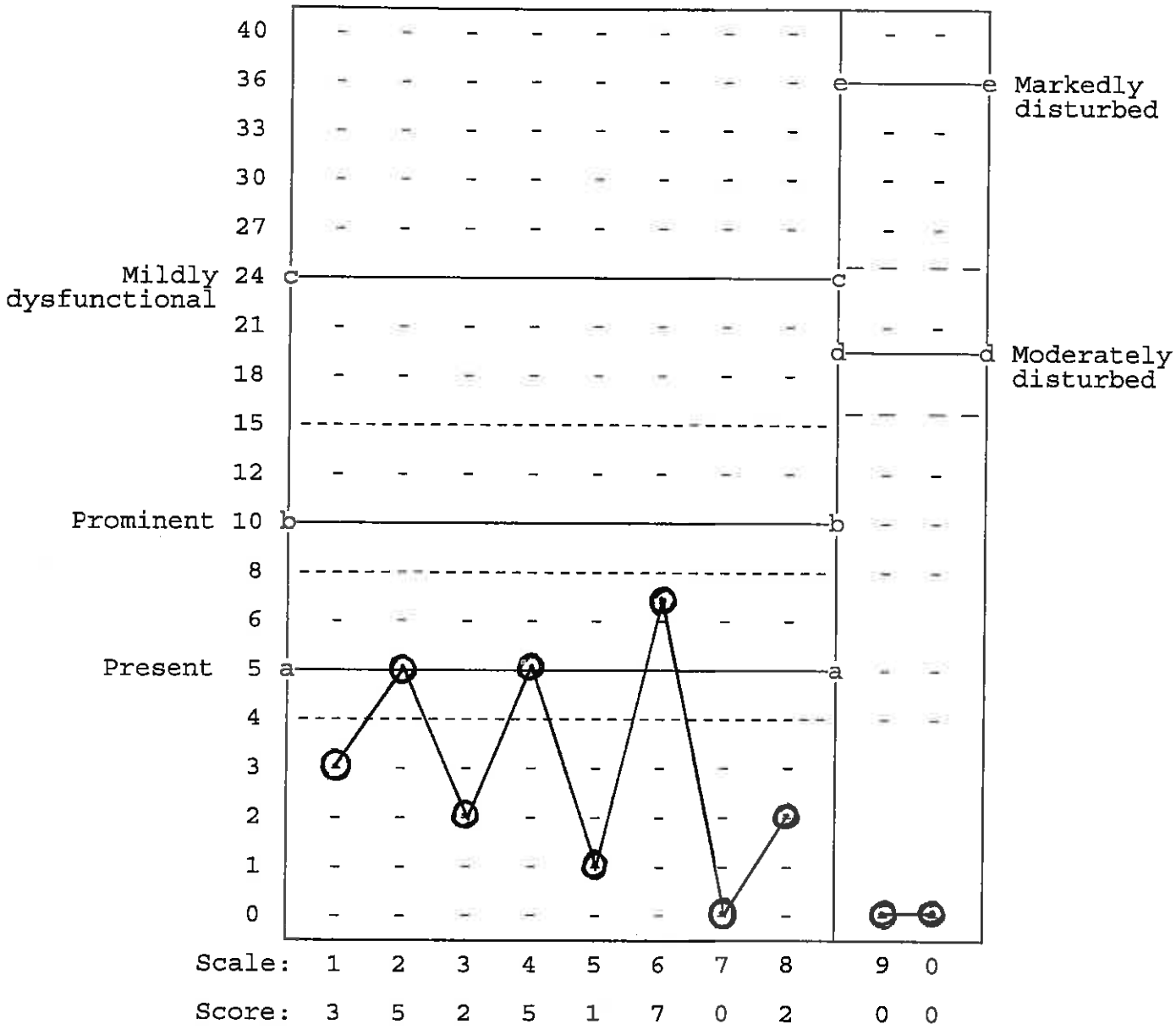


MPPC Scales

1	Controlling/Active-independent	6	Conforming/Passive-ambivalent
2	Asserting/Passive-independent	7	Hesitating/Active-detached
3	Outgoing/Active-dependent	8	Retiring/Passive-detached
4	Agreeing/Passive-dependent	9	Distrusting
5	Complaining/Active-ambivalent	0	Erratic

Figure 2

MPPC Profile: F. W. de Klerk



MPPC Scales

1	Controlling/Active-independent	6	Conforming/Passive-ambivalent
2	Asserting/Passive-independent	7	Hesitating/Active-detached
3	Outgoing/Active-dependent	8	Retiring/Passive-detached
4	Agreeing/Passive-dependent	9	Distrusting
5	Complaining/Active-ambivalent	0	Erratic

(Controlling) and Scale 2 (Asserting), whereas De Klerk has secondary elevations on Scale 2 (Asserting) and Scale 4 (Agreeing). No other MPPC scales reached diagnostically meaningful levels for either Mandela or De Klerk.

In terms of scale gradations (see Immelman, 1993d, for interpretation strategy), Mandela may be characterized as a respectful-forceful-confident personality and De Klerk as a respectful-confident-cooperative personality. Thus, Mandela and De Klerk share respectful-confident personality features. The primary difference in their personality patterns is that Mandela has more forceful (Scale 1, Controlling) features than De Klerk, and De Klerk more cooperative (Scale 4, Agreeing) features than Mandela. With these exceptions, their personality differences are unremarkable, with the following three possible exceptions.

First, Mandela had a small, though slightly larger loading than De Klerk, on Scale 3 (Complaining), suggesting more oppositional and fewer cooperative features. Though speculative, this may possibly be accounted for by Mandela's history as a revolutionary opponent of the status quo, whereas De Klerk was part of the political establishment.

Second, De Klerk had a very slight loading on Scale 8 (Retiring), whereas Mandela did not, reflecting slightly stronger introversive tendencies on the part of the former.

Finally, Mandela had a minor loading on Scale 0 (Erratic) whereas De Klerk did not. It may be speculated that Mandela might be more volatile than De Klerk and more

prone to vacillate or to switch positions, particularly in view of Mandela's larger loadings on Scale 1 (Controlling) and Scale 5 (Complaining), and his smaller loading on Scale 4 (Agreeing).

Discussion: Mandela and De Klerk in Context

In this paper I have presented an exploratory psychological assessment of the personalities of the two foremost political players involved in the challenging process of shaping the "new South Africa," namely Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk.

What light does the present assessment shed on the roles of the personal characteristics of Mandela and De Klerk on bringing about a negotiated settlement in South Africa? I turn first to a consideration of De Klerk, the man who was instrumental in initiating the negotiation process.

F. W. de Klerk

De Klerk emerged from the assessment as a predominantly Respectful personality, which is an adaptive variant of the Conforming pattern. Millon (1994) summarizes this pattern as follows:

> Conformers are notably respectful of tradition and authority, and act in a responsible, proper, and conscientious way. They do their best to uphold conventional rules and standards, following given regulations closely. (p. 33)

This description is consistent with De Klerk's history as a conventional middle-of-the-road Afrikaner nationalist. It fails, however, to shed any light on his change of direction upon assuming the presidency in 1989; after all,

his predecessor, P. W. Botha, also had distinct conforming personality features (see Immelman, 1988b, 1993b). It is necessary, therefore, to focus on pertinent differences between the personalities of De Klerk and Botha.

The primary difference between these two leaders is Botha's self-orientation versus De Klerk's other-orientation. Botha's highest MPPC scale elevations were Scale 1 (Controlling) with a scale gradation in the Aggressive range, and Scale 9 (Distrusting) with a scale gradation in the Suspicious range. These features are essentially absent in the case of De Klerk with his elevated Scale 4 (Agreeing), with a scale gradation in the Cooperative range. Although this analysis does not explain *why* De Klerk initiated political change, it does serve to show why Botha could not; in short, Botha was constrained by aggressive and suspicious personality features, as well as a disdain for the needs of others and a lack of sensitivity to the environment.

At the personological level, the critical ingredient for successful reform was the leader's ability to cooperate rather than compete with political rivals. De Klerk, with his secondary MPPC elevation on Scale 4 (Agreeing), possessed exactly this quality. Millon (1994) describes this personality pattern as follows:

> Disinclined to upset others, they are willing to adapt their preferences to be compatible with those of others. Trusting others to be kind and thoughtful, they are also willing to reconcile differences and to achieve peaceable solutions, as well as to be considerate and to concede when necessary. Cordiality and compromise characterize their interpersonal relationships. (p. 34)

It appears to be precisely the combination of these Agreeing characteristics with De Klerk's Conforming features (which allowed him to retain the trust of his constituency) that served as the key to South Africa's transformation. But De Klerk's personal disposition would have been of little consequence had it not been for compatible qualities on the part of Mandela, in whose cooperation ultimately lay the solution.

Nelson Mandela

Mandela, like De Klerk, emerged from the assessment as a predominantly Respectful personality, the characteristics of which have already been discussed. Characterizing Mandela as a conformist is a contradiction in terms only from the perspective of the "system" politics (see De Klerk, 1991, p. 55) of the old order; from the perspective of "struggle" politics Mandela personified the liberation establishment and its cause. Moreover, Mandela never represented the radical wing of the struggle, and has a long track record as an advocate of moderation and restraint. This quality favored Mandela for his role in South Africa's transition.

The transition from white domination to majority rule moved much faster than expected (see, for example, De Klerk, 1991, pp. 185, 188). At least in part, the rapid unfolding of events in South Africa can be accounted for by Mandela's confident assertiveness — a quality shared by De Klerk. Millon (1994) describes the Asserting pattern as follows:

> Competitive, ambitious, and self-assured, they naturally assume positions of leadership, act in a decisive and unwavering manner, and expect others to recognize their special qualities and cater to them. Beyond being self-confident, those with an Asserting profile often are . . . persuasive, having sufficient charm to win others over to their own causes and purposes. (p. 32)

Finally, his other secondary elevation, on the Controlling scale, offers some clues concerning the type of leader President Mandela is likely to be. According to Millon (1994), Controlling individuals

> enjoy the power to direct . . . others, and to evoke obedience and respect from them. They tend to be tough and unsentimental. . . . Although many sublimate their power-oriented tendencies . . . these inclinations become evident in occasional intransigence, stubbornness, and coercive behaviors. . . . [C]ontrolling types typically make effective leaders, being talented in supervising and persuading others to work for the achievement of common goals. (p. 34)

There is thus reason to believe that Mandela will be realistically hard-headed in managing the reconstruction of South Africa with the limited resources at his disposal. This suggests the need for lowered expectations all around. Those who reaped the benefits of apartheid will have to relinquish their sense of entitlement, while those who bore its burden will discover that the dismantling of apartheid is not tantamount to the creation of a state of Utopia.

Conclusion

I would venture that change in South Africa was driven by situational factors and given substance by the personal qualities of its leaders. Change was imminent; the crisis engendered by trying to stem the tide of black anger

propelled into the leadership role individuals with the ability to manage that change.

The key to understanding the abrupt change of direction in National Party policy in 1990 appears to be the change in its leadership in 1989. When F. W. de Klerk and his allies effectively deposed P. W. Botha — who had held public office continuously since his election to Parliament in 1948 — there was a "changing of the guard." Botha, the "Great Crocodile," represented the old order of Nationalist leaders who entered politics during the zenith of Afrikaner nationalism when the party's primary objective was to break the economic, cultural, and political domination of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans by the English, and to establish an Afrikaner-nationalist state based on racial segregation and white supremacy. In essence, this fostered an inward-looking, self-serving, defensive mentality obsessed with exposing and destroying anything construed as plotting its destruction. Under the iron-fisted rule of the militaristic Botha and his like-minded predecessors the Nationalists were not given to compromise or negotiation.

The mild-mannered De Klerk, in contrast, represented the "new breed" of Afrikaner whose political socialization unfolded during an era of unrivaled Afrikaner hegemony and sufficient self-confidence to serve as a basis for a more broadly based South Africanism less fettered by exclusionism and the need for cultural domination. In psychological terms, Botha's aggressiveness, dogmatism, and arrogance

was replaced by De Klerk's cooperativeness, pragmatism, flexibility, and sensitivity to the environment, complemented by compatible characteristics on the part of Mandela, with whom De Klerk chose to negotiate the future of South Africa.

Had there been any substance to the prevailing white rightwing view that blacks constitute a threat in South Africa — that the liberation struggle formed part of a communist-inspired "total onslaught" against civilized values — F. W. de Klerk would have been, from an Afrikaner-nationalist perspective, the worst possible leader for South Africa. As it happens, however, the needs of the average black South African are no different from that of the average white; among these, quite literally, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In retrospect, therefore, it is fortunate that destiny brought together a black South African of almost mythical stature and a rather conventional white conservative able to retain the trust of a significant part of his fearful constituency, who had the insight to recognize the need for change, a conciliatory personal style, and the confident persistence to stay the course.

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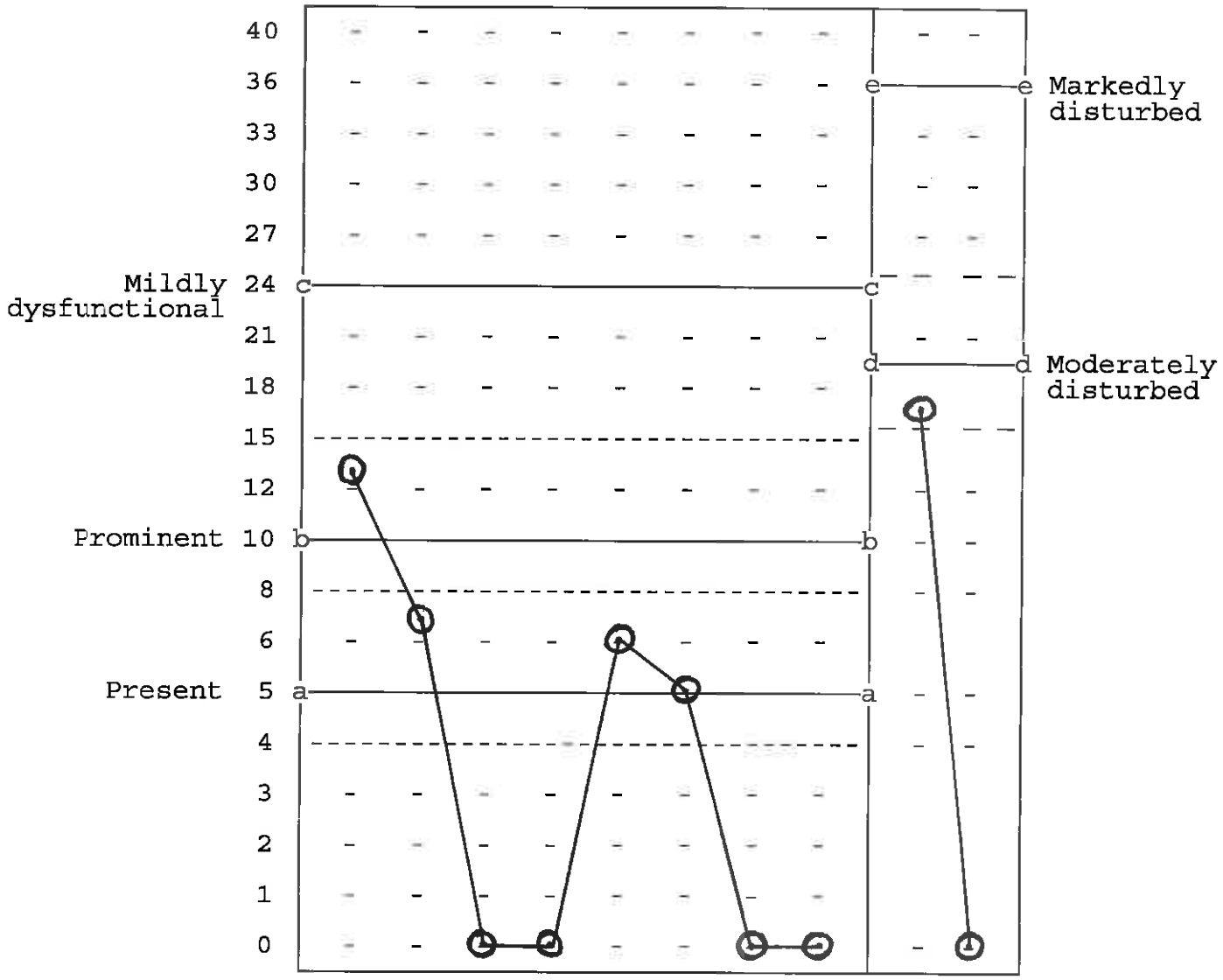
APPENDIX A-1

MPPC Profile: P. W. Botha
Data from Immelman (1993b)

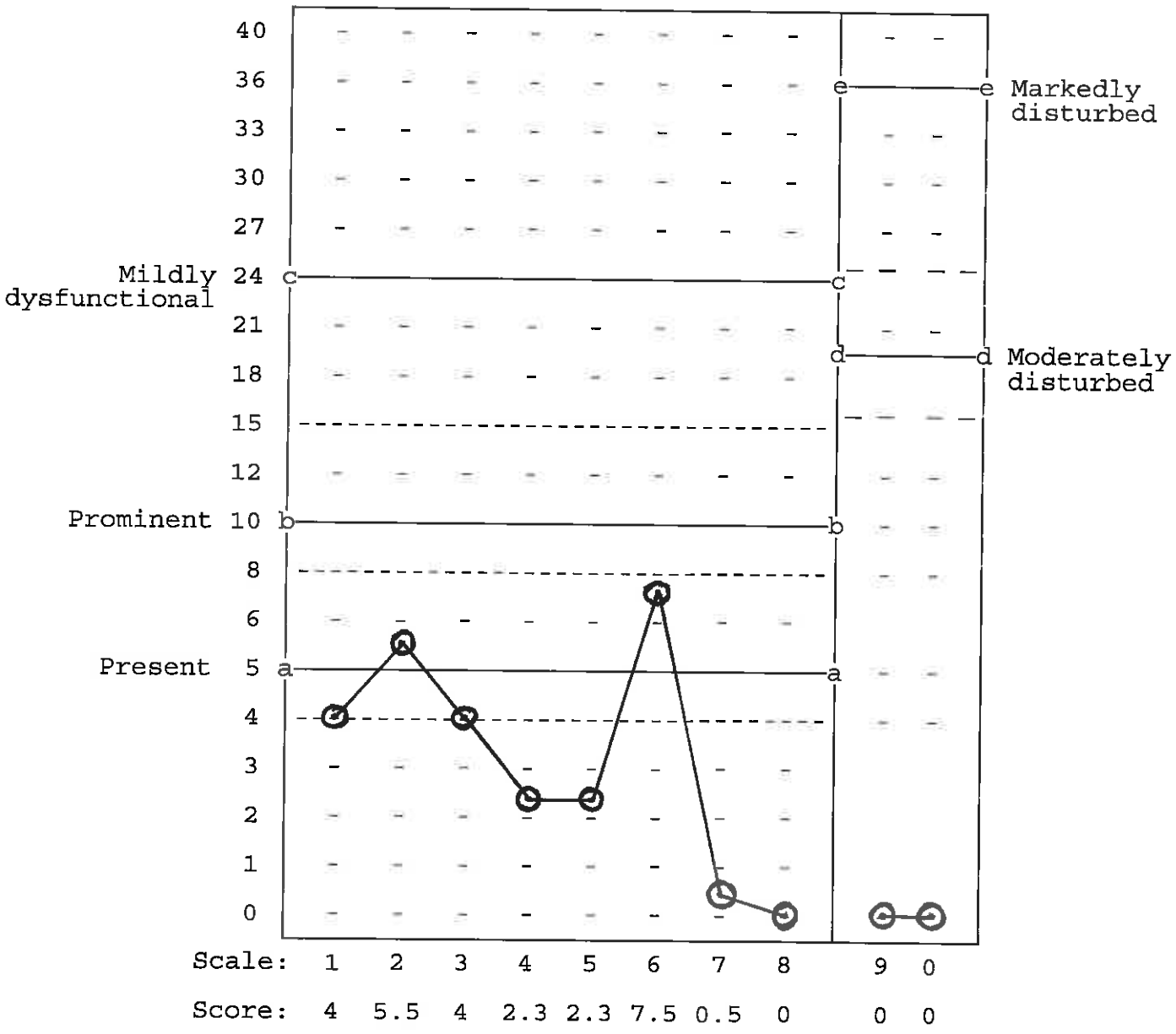


MPPC Scales

1 Controlling/Active-independent
2 Asserting/Passive-independent
3 Outgoing/Active-dependent
4 Agreeing/Passive-dependent
5 Complaining/Active-ambivalent
6 Conforming/Passive-ambivalent
7 Hesitating/Active-detached
8 Retiring/Passive-detached
9 Distrusting
0 Erratic

APPENDIX A-2

MPPC Profile: F. W. de Klerk
Data from Immelman (1993b)

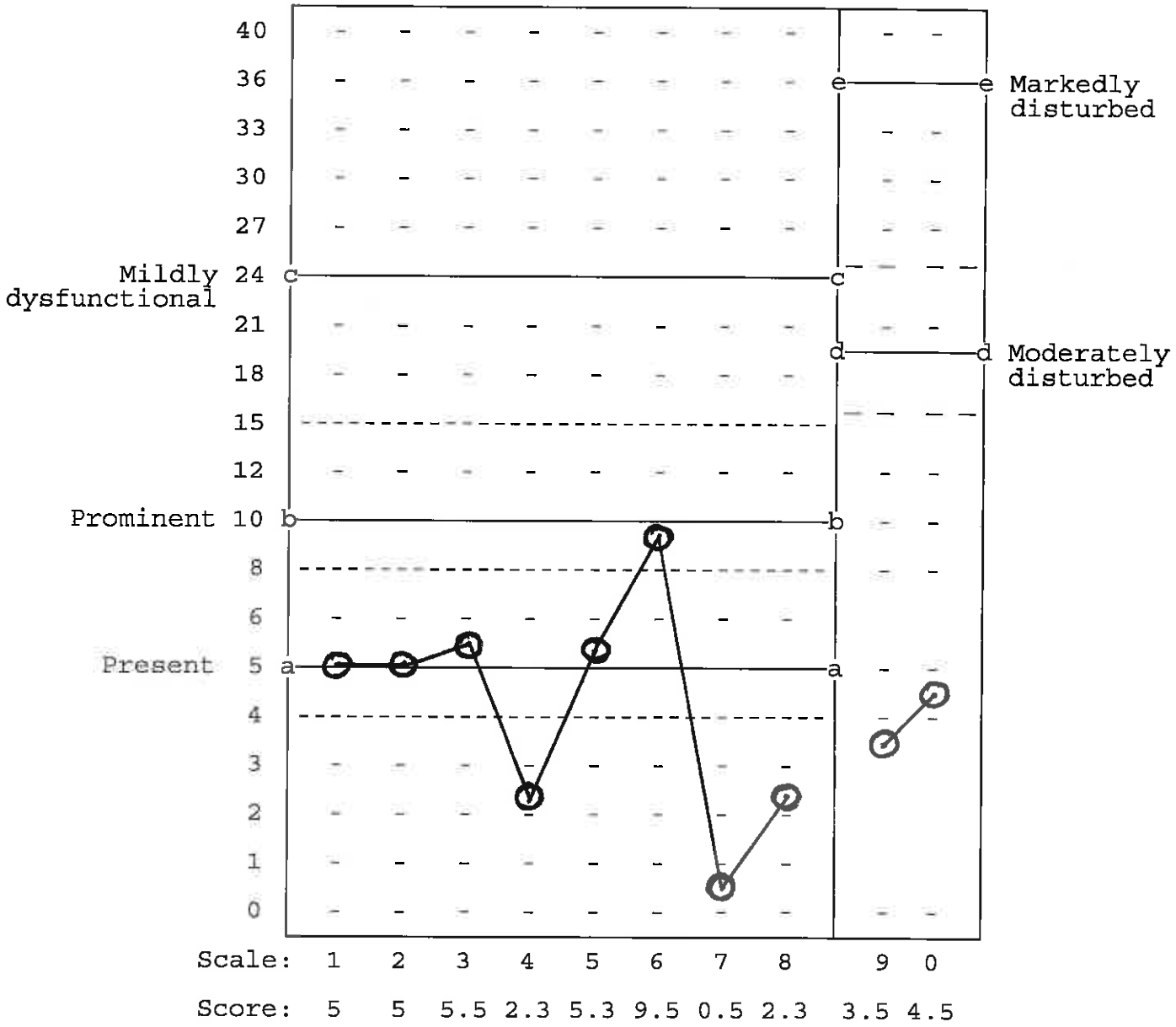


MPPC Scales

1	Controlling/Active-independent	6	Conforming/Passive-ambivalent
2	Asserting/Passive-independent	7	Hesitating/Active-detached
3	Outgoing/Active-dependent	8	Retiring/Passive-detached
4	Agreeing/Passive-dependent	9	Distrusting
5	Complaining/Active-ambivalent	0	Erratic

APPENDIX A-3

MPPC Profile: Nelson Mandela
Data from Immelman (1993b)



MPPC Scales

1 Controlling/Active-independent
2 Asserting/Passive-independent
3 Outgoing/Active-dependent
4 Agreeing/Passive-dependent
5 Complaining/Active-ambivalent
6 Conforming/Passive-ambivalent
7 Hesitating/Active-detached
8 Retiring/Passive-detached
9 Distrusting
0 Erratic

APPENDIX B

Psychobiographical Analysis: Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk

Personality assessments in terms of each of the five Millon-Type Political Personality Checklist (MPPC) attribute domains (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, mood/temperament, self-image, and cognitive style) are presented alternately for Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk. Each formulation is followed by an alphanumerically coded summary in which numerals refer to MPPC scales and lowercase letters to scale gradations (see Appendix C).

A. *Expressive Behavior*

Expressive behavior refers to the observables of physical and verbal behavior, usually recorded by noting what people do and how they do it (Millon, 1986; 1990, p. 137).

Mandela

Formulation: Expressive Behavior

After meeting Mandela in 1993, Tim McGuire, Executive Editor of the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, wrote:

> I doubt I will ever again be in the presence of a person with the aura of Nelson Mandela. His tenderness, his lack of rancor and his thoughtfulness combine to create a special brightness that makes you feel good.
>
> He is in absolute command intellectually. He answers questions firmly but not recklessly. He is humorously self-deprecating and always serene and confident. (Impressions, 1993, p. 20A)

As reported by Meer (1988), Strini Moodley, convicted in 1976 of "terrorism by thought" and imprisoned on Robben Island, described Mandela as follows: "Everyone looked up to him and respected him. When he spoke, we listened. He was patient, tolerant, and I never saw him lose his temper" (p. 273). His second wife, Winnie, upon marrying Mandela in 1957, experienced him as "overpowering" (Meer, 1988, p. 131).

Mandela's history has shown him to be adventurous. After his expulsion from Fort Hare University in 1941, the young Mandela absconded from the home of his guardian and traveled to the distant Johannesburg (Meer, 1988, pp. 9-10, 25-26). By the late 1940s, Mandela, then married to Evelyn, was studying law at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and actively involved in politics. Meer (1988) describes Mandela at this time as having a "hearty zest for life" (p. 42), for example, taking up amateur boxing. But Mandela was more than adventurous; he also demonstrated a

fearless quality. After commencing the armed struggle in 1961 with the founding of *Umkonto we Sizwe*, he left South Africa without a passport in 1962 and traveled throughout Africa under an assumed name, forging political and military contacts for the ANC and meeting African leaders. According to Meer, Mandela "thrived on the heady atmosphere of ideas and the cut and thrust of arguments" (p. 177). Upon his secret return to South Africa the "Black Pimpernel," wanted by the police, traveled in disguise throughout the country to organize mass demonstrations and strikes, until his betrayal and arrest 17 months after going underground (see Meer, 1988, pp. 160-203). According to Meer: "This meant he had to leave his family, forget familiar creature comforts, and worst of all, sooner or later, face long-term imprisonment. None of this daunted him" (p. 163). After receiving a five-year sentence for incitement to strike and leaving the country without a passport, Mandela refused to wear the prescribed prison garb or eat the inferior food offered him, threatening to take the prison commander to court; he finally relented after two months in solitary confinement (Meer, 1988, pp. 213-214). When he was body-searched upon his transfer to Robben Island, he reportedly told the captain conducting the search, "I must warn you, I'll take you to the highest authority . . . . I will not allow you to do anything outside the regulations" (Meer, 1988, p. 218).

At the behavioral level, there is more to Mandela than his adventurous, fearless side. Upon meeting him in Victor Verster Prison in 1989, shortly before his release, Meer (1988) found Mandela to be "a good, honourable, and humble man, a man of great tolerance, with a remarkable capacity to see the other point of view and to come to terms with it without compromising his own ethical position" (p. xx).

Thus, Mandela has also shown himself to be humble, modest, and unpretentious — apparently an enduring characteristic; Meer (1988), for example, recounts that after his election as an ANC deputy president in 1952 "Nelson's power and popularity were spreading everywhere, yet he remained genial, accessible, and modest, though he swore like a trooper when the occasion demanded" (p. 54). Incidentally, this more precipitous side of Mandela's personality is evident in an incident which occurred in 1959 while Mandela was teaching Winnie to drive, in 1959. As related by Meer (1988), on one occasion "Nelson stormed out of the car, banging the door behind him. He went home, stripped to his shorts and punched out his anger on the boxing-bag" (p. 131). Clearly, however, Mandela's warmth and patience are more characteristic. According to Meer (1988), "he smiles readily, and often, his eyes crinkling at the corners; his laughter is deep-throated and spontaneous" (p. xviii).

In addition, he is organized and disciplined. During the 1950s, as a practicing lawyer and political activist, Mandela would often work past midnight and be up again at 4 a.m. for an early morning jog (Meer, 1988, p. 127). Furthermore, Mandela's attention to detail and meticulousness are evident in Meer's (1988) comment that, following his reading of the manuscript of the second edition of his biography, Mandela "had gone through the book meticulously and presented me with a neat 39-page folio of amendments and additions" (p. xix).

Finally, Mandela is poised and dignified, with a commanding presence (Meer, 1988, p. xviii).

Summary: Expressive Behavior

1a *Adventurous*: assertive; attracted to challenge
1b *Fearless*: daring; willing to take risks
2a *Poised*: dignified and self-assured
3a *Animated*: friendly and outgoing; extraverted
5a *Humble*: modest, unpretentious, self-deprecating
6a *Organized*: self-controlled and prudent
6b *Disciplined*: maintains a regulated, structured lifestyle
0d *Precipitous*: abrupt or unpredictable shifts in position or behavior; rash

De Klerk

Formulation: Expressive Behavior

After meeting De Klerk in 1993, Tim McGuire, Executive Editor of the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, wrote:

> I wanted to like . . . F. W. de Klerk. . . . I expected to meet a man with the same grace, power and vision that I had seen in Nelson Mandela.
>
> Instead, I met a calculating politician, a man who gave me the distinct impression that he really hadn't meant to release the genie from the bottle and would put him back in if he could. . . .
>
> De Klerk's tortured arguments about South Africa's history frustrated me. . . .
>
> [T]here was something about his manner and some of his statements that made me believe he would derail the peace process if given half a chance. . . .
>
> De Klerk is playing hardball to get the best deal he possibly can for the white Afrikaner establishment. History may prove De Klerk's greatness, but for me he seemed more of a dealmaker than a peacemaker. (Impressions, 1993, p. 20A)

Despite McGuire's somewhat harsh judgment the courteous, urbane De Klerk, though lacking Mandela's charisma and aura of greatness, stands in stark contrast to the finger-wagging belligerence of his predecessor, P. W. Botha. The picture of De Klerk's expressive behavior that emerges from his biography, written by his brother, Willem de Klerk (1991), may be formulated as follows: He is characteristically humble, friendly, courteous, and well-mannered, driven by a search for peace and compromise, and abhors displays of force (p. 25) or extravagant ceremony (p. 142). Calm, sensitive, and to the point (p. 80), he has a deep sense of decency and is almost never aggressive in his approach (p. 81). He is a self-assured, calm, and open person who tends to approach matters in a pragmatic, realistic fashion (p. 142).

In contrast to the arrogance of his predecessor, the modest, unassuming De Klerk shows few signs of power orientation and is not known for impulsive behavior or angry outbursts (pp. 142, 150). Like his predecessor, De Klerk is known for his hard work, stamina, and methodical work habits (pp. 154, 167).

Though not highly introverted, De Klerk is described as phlegmatic (p. 88) and somewhat introverted in comparison to Mandela's more extraverted tendency (p. 87).

Summary: Expressive Behavior

1a *Adventurous*: assertive; attracted to challenge
2a *Poised*: dignified and self-assured
3a *Animated*: friendly and outgoing; extraverted
5a *Humble*: modest, unpretentious, self-deprecating
6a *Organized*: self-controlled and prudent
8a *Passive*: introverted, phlegmatic

B. Interpersonal Conduct

Interpersonal conduct refers to people's typical style of interacting with others, for example, the manner in which their actions affect others, the attitudes that underlie, prompt, and give shape to these actions, the methods by which people engage others to meet their needs, or their way of coping with social tensions and conflicts (Millon, 1986; 1990, pp. 137, 146).

Mandela

Formulation: Interpersonal Conduct

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of Mandela's interpersonal conduct is his commanding presence. For example, upon visiting him in prison in 1989, Meer (1988) found Mandela "immaculate in a three-piece suit, every inch the statesman ready to lead his country" (p. xviii).

In addition, Meer "was left with the impression that Nelson was very much in command [in negotiations with the government concerning the terms of his release]" (p. xix).

Mandela's history as an anti-apartheid activist, for example, his role in the formation of *Umkonto we Sizwe*, his activities as the "Black Pimpernel," and his refusal to accept the P. W. Botha government's terms for his release from prison (i.e., renouncing violence), shows Mandela to be a tough, shrewd politician. There is some evidence that, in his younger days, this tendency sometimes manifested itself in an unempathic tendency to accept favors without assuming reciprocal responsibilities. For example, in a letter from prison to his daughter Zindzi, dated March 1, 1981, Mandela expressed remorse for not having shown "sufficient appreciation for the love and kindness of many who befriended and even helped" him after he left his tribal home for Johannesburg in 1941 (Meer, 1988, pp. 26-27). This tendency seems, however, to be more characteristic of Mandela's early years. In later years, Mandela is described as having a "patriarchal" sense of "obligation" (Meer, 1988, p. 289). In addition, it is reported that fellow prisoners on Robben Island found Mandela to be helpful and understanding, and sought him out to discuss personal problems, irrespective of their political affiliation (Meer, 1988, p. 270).

This contrast between the young firebrand and the elder statesman Mandela who seems to harbor no bitterness for his persecution by the National Party government, is also evident in a story recounted by Mandela's first wife, Evelyn. When she confronted him in 1953 with rumors that he was having an extramarital affair, Mandela

> was angry that I questioned his fidelity. . . . I was desperate. I went to see Walter [Sisulu, Evelyn's uncle, later imprisoned with Mandela]. I don't think Nelson ever forgave me for that. He accused me of broadcasting our problems. He stopped eating at home and took his washing to a cousin. Then he started sleeping out. (Meer, 1988, pp. 78-79)

Thus, it seems that Mandela has the capacity to be contentious and to carry grudges, though there is little evidence for this in his later life.

Mandela's personal history also provides evidence of oppositional tendencies. As reported by Meer (1988), while studying at Fort Hare University

> Nelson got involved in a strike [apparently about food, and was suspended]. . . . Jongintaba [Mandela's guardian, a chief] was very upset with him. He said he should apologize and return. But he was very obstinate. He said he would never go back. (p. 9)

Mandela and his cousin Justice, Chief Jongintaba's son, thereupon sold two of Jongintaba's oxen without his permission and used the money to go to Johannesburg (Meer, 1988, p. 10). Nonetheless, Mandela is also characterized as respectful of authority. For example, as a child he was "very well behaved and respectful of all the elders," "diligent and hard-working," and never gave "trouble to the teachers" (Meer, 1988, p. 7).

Mandela's numerous letters from prison (see Meer, 1988, pp. 344-405) show him to be a caring, nurturing individual who does not hesitate to openly display affection and tender emotions. Furthermore, Mandela has a conciliatory, placating aspect that is not always recognized. For example, in 1961, when the Pan Africanist Congress-affiliated Poqo organization initiated a brutal campaign of terror against whites, "Nelson found the violence of Poqo reprehensible. His instincts were for talking and negotiating settlements for restoring friendship and winning confidence" (Meer, 1988, pp. 170-171). Thus, in prison, Mandela was often the one to mediate disputes between the inmates and the prison authorities (Meer, 1988, p. 270). Characteristically, Mandela has been consistent in his message of conciliation, as epitomized in his statement from the dock on April 20, 1964, during the Rivonia trial:

> I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. (Mandela, 1965/1990, p. 189)

In conclusion, the emerging picture of Mandela is somewhat perplexing, with seemingly contradictory personality attributes and evidence of "mellowing" with age. In this regard an assessment by an unnamed associate close to Mandela appears to have some relevance. According to this analysis Mandela has a personal style with clashing characteristics; at times he can be autocratic and resolute, even over trivial matters, yet at other times he may waver and vacillate (De Klerk, 1991, p. 87). Thus, though Mandela may currently be labelled *enigmatic* or *perplexing*, there is little justification for attaching the labels *quarrelsome* or *oppositional*.

Summary: Interpersonal Conduct

1a *Commanding*: powerful, commands respect
2a *Tough*: hardnosed and shrewd; utilitarian
2b *Unempathic*: expects favors without assuming reciprocal responsibilities
3a *Demonstrative*: displays feelings openly; amiable
4a *Compliant*: conciliatory and placating
5a *Enigmatic*: hard to fathom, perplexing
6a *Polite*: courteous and proper

De Klerk

Formulation: Interpersonal Conduct

The recurrent themes in De Klerk's political personality at the level of interpersonal conduct are his search for compromise and his party-political loyalty. According to Willem De Klerk (1991), FW seeks compromise rather than confrontation and may be described as a peacemaker (p. 23) — though, as pointed out earlier there is the suggestion (Impressions, 1993, p. 20A) that he is a shrewd politician who is more "dealmaker" than peacemaker. With regard to his long-standing loyalty to party policy, which has at times created tension (see p. 21) between him and his politically more moderate brother and biographer, Willem de Klerk, the latter writes (1991) that FW has conformed to all phases of National Party policy (p. 141) and is anchored to NP principles (p. 81). De Klerk is adamant, however, that FW is not a mindless conformist: he is critical and independent; an intellectual loner who develops his own frameworks (p. 137). Nonetheless, he tends to be overcautious and is prone to present himself as someone who tries to be all things to all people (p. 142). On balance, the foregoing suggests that De Klerk may accurately be characterized as other-oriented and sensitive to his environment.

Although an outstanding debater who can argue with a cold logic (De Klerk, 1991, p. 163), F. W. de Klerk is at base someone who is considerate (p. 154), trustworthy (p. 81), believes in fair play, and tends to "play by the rules" (p. 24); a consensus seeker (p. 85) who is characteristically conciliatory and compromise seeking, open to criticism (p. 150), yet able to confront others if warranted (p. 142).

De Klerk's lack of aggressiveness has been a source of criticism. Certainly it is the characteristic which most distinguished him from his predecessor; perhaps to some the stark contrast from the "norm" was perceived as a character flaw. De Klerk (1991) reframes FW's perceived lack of aggression in terms of a "creative aggression" — to be courteously resolute and to move people by means of negotiation and persuasion (p. 150).

As for management style, De Klerk is described as a team player who consults others, shares information, and possesses the ability to make others feel important, valued, and at ease (De Klerk, 1991, p. 81) — a consultational (p. 151), democratic leadership style that is a drastic departure from the autocratic style of his predecessor. Indeed, in the early days of his presidency, prior to the start of formal negotiations with the ANC, De Klerk often referred to his "open door" policy in enunciating his readiness to negotiate with various interest groups.

Finally, away from the public eye in the private arena of family relationships, De Klerk is said to be demonstrative and loving (De Klerk, 1991, p. 154).

Summary: Interpersonal Conduct

1a *Commanding*: powerful, commands respect
2a *Tough*: hardnosed and shrewd; utilitarian
3a *Demonstrative*: displays feelings openly; amiable
4a *Compliant*: conciliatory and placating
6a *Polite*: courteous and proper

C. Cognitive Style

Cognitive style refers to people's perception of events, focusing of attention, information processing, organization of thoughts, and communication of reactions and ideas to others (Millon, 1986; 1990, p. 146).

Mandela

Formulation: Cognitive Style

The literature on Nelson Mandela provides little direct evidence of his cognitive style. Some clues are provided by Meer (1988) in recounting her interviews with Mandela during 1989 in preparation for the second edition of his biography: "Nelson was frank and open, his memory remarkable" (p. xix). This analysis is supported by evidence that Mandela is characteristically tolerant of others' ideas (Meer, 1988, p. 273).

Another clue is implicit in De Klerk's (1991, p. 87) assessment that, rhetorically, Mandela is more inciting-emotional, whereas De Klerk tends to be more persuasive-intellectual. This suggests greater conceptual complexity on the part of De Klerk; on the other hand, given his history as a revolutionary leader it would make sense that Mandela's rhetoric would be aimed at the masses, with perhaps intentional conceptual simplicity.

Finally, though labeling De Klerk "a man of integrity" shortly after his release from prison, Mandela in later

public statements was quite critical of De Klerk's motives, suggesting a degree of skepticism — though, on the other hand, this may have been no more than political posturing. In addition, given his history as a political prisoner, Mandela certainly had just cause for mistrusting the government. Perhaps, then, one might characterize Mandela as having a healthy dose of skepticism, without being overly suspicious or mistrustful.

Summary: Cognitive Style

1a *Subjective*: holds strong opinions; typically outspoken
4a *Open*: receptive to new information; open to suggestion
5a *Skeptical*: questioning or doubting; cynical

De Klerk

Formulation: Cognitive Style

Consistent with his conciliatory interpersonal conduct, De Klerk has an open, though circumspect, cognitive style. In this regard, De Klerk (1991) describes him as open, intelligent, learned, balanced, self-critical, and sober (p. 25), yet overcautious in his formulation of policy, and excessively tolerant in trying to satisfy all sides (p. 141). In spite of this openness to ideas, De Klerk does not appear to be naive, skeptical, or inconsistent; once he has made up his mind, he is said to pursue his agenda with conviction (De Klerk, 1991, p. 141).

De Klerk's conceptual complexity, referred to above in the formulation of Mandela's cognitive style, is clearly evident in his now famous speech before Parliament on February 2, 1990, during which he announced the release of Mandela; for example, he called for debate to replace slogans in South African politics (see De Klerk, 1991, p. 41).

Finally, De Klerk's style is said to be characterized by rationality, logic, and balance — which Willem de Klerk (1991, p. 151) has termed F. W. de Klerk's personal brand of charisma; indeed, a term frequently used in De Klerk's biography to describe his cognitive style is "juridical exactness."

Summary: Cognitive Style

4a *Open*: receptive to new information; open to suggestion
6a *Circumspect*: cautious; wary of new or untested ideas; avoids risk

D. Mood/Temperament

Mood/temperament refers to the predominant character of one's affect, either overtly expressed or revealed indirectly in activity level, speech quality, or physical appearance (Millon, 1986; 1990, p. 157).

Mandela

Formulation: Mood/Temperament

Mandela's biography does not say much about his characteristic mood, with the exception of Meer's (1988) statement that, upon visiting Mandela in prison shortly before his release, "Nelson's optimism charged me with new hope [for radical change in South Africa and an end to the violence]" (p. xix).

Mandela has shown himself to be someone who can experience tender emotions; in a letter to Meer, dated February 25, 1985 he thanks her for a letter with news about his extended family in the Transkei, stating it "reduced me into a bundle of sheer sentiment" (Meer, 1988, p. xiv).

Summary: Mood/Temperament

2a *Serene*: typically cool, calm, collected, and optimistic
4a *Tender*: sensitive to emotions and others' feelings; warm-hearted and gentle

De Klerk

Formulation: Mood/Temperament

As described by his biographer-brother, De Klerk's affective expression is characterized by a sober sense of seriousness, calmness, and humility; in contrast to his predecessor, he has a distaste for extravagant ceremony and displays of force (De Klerk, 1991, p. 3). In the media, he is projected as relaxed, communicative, pragmatic, and supple (p. 18).

De Klerk appears to manifest a certain degree of restraint, as reflected in the statement that he is by nature phlegmatic, almost fatalistic (De Klerk, 1991, p. 88). This assessment is supported by De Klerk's lack of excitability during the 1994 election campaign, during which he generally appeared unruffled, even during crises such as serious shooting incidents and bombings in Johannesburg and ongoing violence in KwaZulu-Natal. A characteristic response was to call on the public to remain calm; indeed, De Klerk is said to be typically comfortable and relaxed, stripped of anxiety and excitability (De Klerk, 1991, p. 154).

Other terms used by De Klerk (1991) to describe FW's affective attributes include equableness (p. 81), patience (p. 150), and mirthfulness in private social settings (p. 162).

Summary: Mood/Temperament

2a *Serene*: typically cool, calm, collected, and optimistic
4a *Tender*: sensitive to emotions and others' feelings; warm-hearted and gentle
4b *Pacific*: characteristically warm, tender, and uncompetitive; intolerant of social tension or conflict
6a *Restrained*: keeps emotions and impulses under control; favors reason over emotional expressiveness
8a *Unexcited*: phlegmatic; mildly agreeable yet somewhat bland or sluggish; not prone to express intense feelings

E. Self-Image

Self-image refers to an individual's perception of self (Millon, 1986; 1990, pp. 148-149) as overtly described or inferred from observable behavior.

Mandela

Formulation: Self-Image

One of the few clues regarding Mandela's self-image is to be found in a letter to Fatima Meer, his biographer, during the early 1970s, in which "he expressed the opinion that an autobiography was an excuse for an ego trip" (Meer, 1988, p. xiii). This suggests a self-effacing quality. It may therefore be inferred that, although Mandela is clearly a self-assured individual, he does not exhibit a Messianic self-perception that he possesses unique and special qualities to bring salvation to his country.

Other personality attributes at the level of self-image have to be inferred from Mandela's expressive behaviors. Among these are assertiveness, reliability, and conscientiousness.

Summary: Self-Image

1a *Assertive*: strong and upstanding
2a *Confident*: self-assured
6a *Reliable*: views self as industrious and efficient
6b *Conscientious*: views self as meticulous in fulfilling obligations

De Klerk

Formulation: Self-Image

F. W. de Klerk has high self-confidence (which Willem de Klerk, 1991, p. 154, attributes to his parents' nurturing child-rearing style), but is not conceited (p. 150).

In addition, it may be safely inferred that De Klerk views himself as hard-working and meticulous in fulfilling obligations (De Klerk, 1991, p. 154). Furthermore, there is considerable evidence of De Klerk's loyalty to church, *volk*, and party, as well as his prudent, cautious approach to problems. The key question here is whether De Klerk might be characterized as self-righteous. Indications are that he is not; he tends to be modest and unassuming (p. 151) and is neither a fanatic nor a bigot (pp. 153; pp. 159-160).

Summary: Self-Image

1a *Assertive*: strong and upstanding
2a *Confident*: self-assured
6a *Reliable*: views self as industrious and efficient
6b *Conscientious*: views self as meticulous in fulfilling obligations

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APPENDIX C

Millon-Type Political Personality Checklist
Scales and Typology

There are 10 MPPC scales comprising eight basic personality patterns and two derivatives. Each of the eight basic patterns has three gradations, labeled a, b, and c, for a total of 8 x 3 = 24 classifications; each of the two derivative patterns has two gradations, labeled d and e, for a total of 2 x 2 = 4 classifications. There is thus a total of 24 + 4 = 28 possible personality classifications, which may be regarded as MPPC subscales.

Gradations a and b fall within the "normal" or well-adjusted range of personality functioning, whereas gradations c, d, and e represent pathological patterns (i.e., disorders of personality). Gradation c is mildly dysfunctional, whereas Gradations d and e constitute more severely disturbed patterns. Scale names were adapted from Millon (1969, 1994). Personality terms associated with Gradations a and b were, for the most part, adapted from Millon (1969, 1986) and Millon and Everly (1985). Terms associated with Gradations c, d, and e generally correspond to the personality disorders on Axis II of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV; American Psychiatric Association, 1994), though the MPPC in some cases departs from standard DSM-IV terminology. Schizotypal personality (DSM-IV code 301.22), a disturbed derivative pattern, has been omitted from the MPPC by virtue of its doubtful relevance to the assessment and study of political psychology. Following is the full MPPC taxonomy. DSM-IV codes are specified in parentheses along with equivalent DSM-IV terms in cases where the MPPC departs from DSM-IV terminology.

Scale 1: Active-Independent (Controlling Pattern)
- a. Forceful
- b. Aggressive
- c. Sadistic (Antisocial; 301.7)

Scale 2: Passive-Independent (Asserting Pattern)
- a. Confident
- b. Self-centered/Egotistic
- c. Narcissistic (301.81)

Scale 3: Active-Dependent (Outgoing Pattern)
- a. Sociable
- b. Gregarious
- c. Histrionic (301.50)

Scale 4: Passive-Dependent (Agreeing Pattern)
- a. Cooperative
- b. Submissive
- c. Dependent (301.6)

Scale 5: Active-Ambivalent (Complaining Pattern)
a. Sensitive/Reactive
b. Negativistic
c. Self-defeating/Masochistic (Passive-aggressive; DSM-III-R 301.94)

Scale 6: Passive-Ambivalent (Conforming Pattern)
a. Respectful
b. Regimented
c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive; 301.4)

Scale 7: Active-Detached (Hesitating Pattern)
a. Inhibited
b. Withdrawn
c. Avoidant (301.82)

Scale 8: Passive-Detached (Retiring Pattern)
a. Introversive
b. Asocial
c. Schizoid (301.20)

Scale 9: Disturbed Independent/Passive-Ambivalent (Distrusting Pattern)
d. Suspicious
e. Paranoid (301.0)

Scale 0: Disturbed Dependent/Active-Ambivalent (Erratic Pattern)
d. Unstable
e. Borderline (301.83)

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